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down again to the other. "The only restriction was that which forbade marriage" before the fourth generation—that is, it only went down to and included second cousins; so that third cousins might marry. 582

A tale dictated by my informant expresses the horror inspired by incest and the punishment that threatened those who committed this crime. The word *paakeake* applies to the act of committing incest with a cousin. 684 835

A man whose name was Taropa had sexual intercourse at night with his cousin. The girl asked, "Who are you?" He said, "I am Taropa." The girl said, "Do not touch me. You are my cousin." "No," replied Taropa, "it does not matter if you do not speak about it." He grasped the girl firmly to violate her. All the time she was protesting, "No, no, I am your cousin," but Taropa did not listen to her. In the end she grew tired of the struggle, and the man put his hand between her legs. He copulated with her. When he finished, he left and ran away. She took the sperm, put it into a piece of tapa, and kept it. At dawn she took it to her father and said, "Here is a bundle belonging to Taropa. He slept with me." The father took the bundle and put it aside. A war broke out between the Tupa-hotu and the Miru. The people fled and hid in a cave called Anatetehe-tama. The young Taropa also hid there. The father of the girl whom Taropa had violated was among the enemies. They took the people of Tupa-hotu and killed them. Taropa went out, and the girl's father cut his throat with the bone of a swordfish. He took the blood and drank it because this Taropa had slept with his own cousin.

Infant betrothal was apparently a widespread custom in olden days. Children whose parents were friends were often engaged to each other, the bride being supposedly chosen by the boy's father, especially if he were a chief. Child marriages were celebrated with the same formalities as those of the adults but the children were not allowed to live together until mature. In the only concrete instance of such a union the boy was 12 years old and the girl was the same age or younger (87, p. 29; 54, p. 717; 86, p. 39). Traditions persisting today about infant betrothal may be summarized as follows: 584

A little girl was considered the prospective wife of an adult man who waited until she became mature. The bridegroom's father brought food for his future daughter-in-law, and his present was called *taku te hunonga ma taana poki* (present of the father-in-law to his child). The father of the boy filled big baskets with fowls and carried them to the girl's house. On the other hand, an adult woman might be engaged to a little boy who received presents from his future father-in-law. 584 431

Girls often bear their first child when they are 15 or 16 years old. At marriage a woman may already have several children, frequently by different fathers. The husband does not object to the children and assumes responsibility for them as if they were his own. Widows usually marry again and there are a few women who have had three or four husbands in succession. 848 587

According to Geiseler (87, p. 29), young men married between the ages of 17 and 20. Each built a hut of his own where the girl to whom he was betrothed came to live. Geiseler states that only married men were allowed to bear the vulva motif tattooed on their chest. As this is not recorded elsewhere it is probably a misinterpretation. 582 591 304 831

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586 Today separation is as simple and easy as in the past. Many men leave their wives because they are old or have become tiresome. Recently an English administrator tried to force the natives to live again with their original spouses, but so many men had separated and formed new ties that his experiment was decidedly unsuccessful.

Adultery

837 Unfaithfulness on the part of the husband is common and its discovery brings about quarrels which the men try to avoid. According to Dr. Drapkin who had the confidence of the natives, adultery on the part of the wife is not uncommon though not so frequent as has been assumed. A husband leaves a wife guilty of adultery only if her relations with another man have become notorious. So far as we know, a woman is seldom punished by thrashing. Sometimes the revenge of the outraged husband consists in taking away his wife's clothes, thus preventing her from going to church. Geiseler (87, p. 29) was told, probably by Salmon, that adultery was frequent but rarely discovered because the participants used such extraordinary tricks to avoid being recognized. For instance, the men are said to have worn the long gowns of [242] women and hats of horse hair (a kind of wig) called *iveve* so as to be taken for women in the dark. This statement may refer to a particular anecdote or incident, but it would be rash to consider wigs as being in general use by lovers of married women.

837 Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 122) says that the woman who was suspected of sinful relations was in danger of losing her life, but Geiseler (87, p. 29) 684 states that the death penalty was inflicted only if the guilty woman was the wife of a chief. A chiefess was usually killed by her husband or his brother. Among commoners the woman was severely thrashed or cast out of the house, and the marriage was dissolved. A jealous husband sometimes killed his wife's lover, as in the following tale:

539 While her husband went fishing, a woman fell in love with an orphan named Moa-
937 ure-nui (The-cock-with-the-big-penis) and slept with him. When the husband returned
831 from fishing and landed at Puapau, the woman went to the shore to take the fish. But the people shouted, "Where are you going for your fish? You have no right to it. Where is the fish of Moa-ure-nui?" The husband heard them.

The woman took the fish, went back to her house, and cooked it. Her son said, "Give me the fish with the red tail." But the woman answered, "I shall take the fish with the red tail to Moa-ure-nui so that he will lick my things." The child was ashamed and did not speak again. After the woman had eaten some fish, she took a bundle to Moa-ure-nui and stayed with him. Her husband found them; he killed Moa-ure-nui and buried his corpse in the ahu. The woman took the penis, wrapped it in a piece of tapa, and wept over it. All night she wept and the next day her husband found her in a paper mulberry pit still weeping. He took the parcel from her, tore it out, smashed it, pounded it. Then he said to the woman, "Now go down; your man came back." The woman returned to her house but did not weep because her husband had destroyed the thing she had.